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1476. b. 39

OF THE
QUALIFICATIONS

Requisite in a

Minister of State :

At any Season, but especially at this.

PART II.

*Ita nati estis, ut Bona, Malaque vestra, ad Rem-
publicam pertineant. Tacit.*

Diutius durant Exempla, quam Mores. Id.

Dedicated to the Right Honourable
Robert Harley, Esq;

L O N D O N,

Printed ; and Sold by *John Morphew*, near
Stationers-Hall, 17 $\frac{1}{2}$. Price Six-Pence.

OF THE
QUALIFICATIONS

Required in a

Minister of State:

At any Section, but especially at this.

PART II.

In and out of Town, and in the
public and private, and in the
Dinner and Breakfast, and in the

Dedicated to the Right Honourable

Robert Peel, Esq.

LONDON.

Printed, and Sold by John Alcock, near
Stations, 1811. Price Six Pence.

For the
Right Hon^{ble} Robert Harley, Esq;

**One of Her Majesties most Honourable Privy
Council, and a Commissioner of the
Treasury, &c.**

May it please Your Honour,

TO permit me tell you with the Sincerity which becometh an honest Man, that this *Second Part* now with a profound submission laid before you, comes not Addressed to your Honour as a *Patron*, but as to a *Judge*. And tho' the things represented in it, be the truest *Images* I can draw and expose to View of my own mind and thoughts; yet I do beg your Pardon, for my openly avowing, that I do withal design them to be a *Copy* and *Transcript* of what your Honours Principles and Actions are; and not for a *Pattern* of what they should and ought to be.

And as I have endeavoured in my whole Conduct of this matter, to be careful that affected, florid and bombast Words, should not put an
Ostracism

Ostracism upon good Sense, Reason, and Uprightness; so I have by the *Pertinency* of this *Inscription* to your Honour, aimed at the setting an *Example* to those *Writers*, who by the *Incongruity* of their *Dedications*, do bring a Reproach upon Literature, as well as render themselves not only Mean and Little, but even Contemptible and Ridiculous. Whom that I may also avoid the imitating of, in the gross Flattery, with which too many use to conclude their Dedications, I shall shut up this, with the plain but sincere assuring of you, that I am,

May it please Your Honour,

TO permit me tell you with the since-
 May it please Your Honour,

that this second Part now with a profound sub-
 mission laid before you, comes not Addressed to
 your Honour, as to a Judge.
 And tho, the things represented in it, be the
 strictest I can draw and expose to View
 Most Faithful, as well as your most Humble,
 and most Obedient Servant,

design them to be a Copy and Transcript of what
 your Honours Principles and Actions are; and
 not for a Pattern of what they should and ought
 to be.

As I have endeavoured in my whole Con-
 duct of this matter, to be careful that affected,
 hollow and bombast Words, should not be
 Offered

*Of the Qualifications Requisite in a
Minister of State, at any Season,
but especially at this.*

P A R T II.

IT Would both be matter of great Thankfulness to God, and also considerably conduce to the raising the Credit and Reputation of Her Majesties Dominions in the World; if either they of any Rank and Quality whatsoever, who are Virtuous; or more especially Ministers of State, who are of Singular Probity and Justice; were thro' the Virtuousness of the present Age, the more beloved, and the greatlier esteemed, on the Foot, Motive and Inducement of their being such, and their acting answerably to those Noble Qualities, as well in private Capacities, as in publick Stations. Nothing being more true than what Tacitus saith in his History of the Life of *Agricola*, that *virtutes in eisdem temporibus optime aestimantur, quibus facillime gignuntur*, *Virtues, are most Commended and Honoured by the bulk and generality of the People, when they are most commonly practised and are in fashion.* Yet it is in it self the more Brave, as well as Honourable, for any Person whosoever, and particularly for one in

a Publick and Eminent Station about his Prince, to act with the more distinguishing Uprightness and Fidelity, when the Age in which their Lot is fallen to Live is the more corrupted and depraved. For as *Seneca* saith to one in his 13th *Epistle*, *Multum honoris tibi adjecit virtus laceffita*, that the contempt which vertue was under, added greatly to his Reputation, who approved himself *Honest* and *Vertuous* at a Season, when *Vice* was both predominant and had in esteem. And as the same *Seneca* also says in his Book, *de Gubernatione Mundi Divinaque providentia*, that *vir erectus ad honesta, cum periculo ad officia promptus*, is the more ready in the discharge of the duty Incumbent upon him, by how much the Hazards and Perils be the greater in his doing so. I shall therefore proceed to the declaring and the bringing into View in the 2d Part, what further Qualifications besides those already mentioned in the 1st Part, are Requisite and ought to be found in a Person called and honoured to be a Minister of State.

Whereof the First which cometh here to be discoursed of (tho it be the Fourth in the General List) as indispensably needful in one of that Character is, that he should be a Person of great and indubitable *Courage* and *Fortitude* : Who dare be true and faithful, both to his Master, and to Himself, at the cost of his Life, as well as of his Liberty and Estate. And as God himself hath declared it to be a Property needful in every one, who is to be a Judg towards Men, that He should be a Person not afraid of the Face of Man, *Deut. 1. 17.* It is much more absolutely and indispensably necessary in one, who is chosen to give Counsel and Advice to his Sovereign. For as the courage of the Gown, of whatsoever kind it be, doth go beyond and excel that of the Buff or Steel; so the Fortitude requisite in one at a Council Board, doth far exceed and transcend that which is required, either upon the Bench,

Bench, or at the Bar, of a Court in *Westminster-Hall*. And if a poor Soldier (who often serveth for 5 d. a Day) be held to deserve to be put to Death, if he doth not expose and hazard his Life, when it is thought necessary for him to do so, for the glory of his Prince, and the supporting of the Cause, for the asserting and maintaining whereof he is enrolled; of how many Deaths more severe and infamous is he to be judged worthy, upon whom his Sovereign reposeth the care of his Affairs, and conferreth Wealth and Honour upon him for his Service therein; if out of Pusillanimity and Cowardice, he doth either abandon him thro' his not giving the best Advice he possibly can, or do betray him through the knowingly giving False and Sinistrous Counsel. And a Statesman ought always to have in his View, that *contra fortunam non armant illa, quæ contra hostes*, that the same Weapons will not secure him from the Evils which may befall him for the doing his Duty at a Council Board, which would Protect him in a Field of Battle. *Senec. Ep. 114.* And if Fortitude be to every Man, as the same *Seneca* saith, *ibid. munimentum humana imbecillitatis inexpugnabile*, the most unconquerable Safeguard and Defence, in the present Sublunary infirm Estate wherein we are; it will be found to be much more so, and ought to be held and accounted of accordingly in a Person, who is called to give Counsel to his Prince about his weighty and arduous Concerns. Nor can any one who is liable to the impression and power of Fear, thro his being void of true Fortitude, be Master either of his Understanding, or of his Conscience, against such as shall assume the Insolence to hector and threaten him. For the Observation of *Tacitus, Historiar. lib. 1.* will at all times be found infallibly True, *Satis clarus est apud timentem, quisquis timetur*, that a Coward will always have him in esteem and veneration, of whom he is afraid: And that who-

soever is under the power of Timidity, will never fail to comply with, and to bow to him, of whom he stands in dread. So that whosoever under the *Character* forementioned, is honoured and entrusted to give Advice to his Sovereign, whether it be at a Private Audience, or at the Council Table, should continually have in his Remembrance what the forenamed *Author* saith, *Epist.* 92, viz. that *animus adversus ea, quæ possunt evenire, firmandus est*, his Mind and Soul should always be prepared, and fortified against whatsoever, either Disgrace, or Mischief, may overtake and befall him, for his faithful performing of what his Station and Office requireth of him. And all such in the foresaid Dignity, who are truly imbued with the noble Quality I am speaking of, will make appear what the forenamed *Author* saith, *lib. de Gubernat. Mundi, &c.* that they not only *omnia adversa exercitationes putant*, but that *in bonum vertunt*, will account of all the Mortifications, and even of the farther Misfortunes, which may come to be their Lot and Portion, for their faithful and courageous discharge of their Duty, to be Exercises and Trials of their Probity and Vertue, but to be likewise means administered unto them, whereby they may both raise their Credit and Reputation in this World, and encrease their Reward in the next.

And whereas the *Fortitude* required in a Minister of State, may necessarily come to be exerted and shewed, as well directly and immediately towards his Sovereign; as towards such as may be of the same Station and Character in the Ministry about his Prince (if not also in sublimer Posts) that he himself is; and even also in reference either to fewer or more of his other Fellow Subjects, it will be therefore needful, that something be observed and brought into view, concerning the exercise of Courage in all these three several Respects. And as to his displaying and manifesting of his Courage directly

ly and immediately before and towards the Person of his Prince, it will be found either to lie in his applying himself unto, and in the offering his Advice to his Sovereign (tho not called for, and much less encouraged so to do) about what doth or may presently (as he thinketh) concerne either his Princes Honour, or his Safety : Or else it will be found to stand in his representing and giving his Opinion and Counsel faithfully, about whatsoever he is commanded to declare himself, tho he previously believeth, yea even certainly knoweth, that the Counsel, which (without his ceasing to be an honest Man) he cannot avoid giving, will prove disgustful, as well as unacceptable. And with reference to the *First*, tho the being a Privy Counsellor, or a Minister of State, will not justify him in the intruding, and the forcing himself as it were, upon his Prince, having no Call so much as to approach him, and much less to give him Advice, in case that what he hath to say unto and to lay before him, hath reference only to Affairs, which are neither of any great moment in themselves, nor wherewith his missing to be informed, can be of dangerous consequence either to his Person, to his Dignity, or to his Dominions ; But whensoever either the Safety of the Prince, or the Peace of his Dominions, (without his being made acquainted therewith, and his having faithful Advice given unto him thereupon) may come to be in imminent and great Danger, it is then the indispensable duty of one who is a publick Minister, to exert a Fortitude both in the getting Admission for Audience by his Prince, and then of giving Advice unto him without either disguise or reserve, whatsoever displeasure of his Master, he doth thereby bring upon himself. Provided always that upon his obtaining access to him, he do behave himself with Decency, Modesty, and Humility. For at such a Juncture and in such a Case, he ought to be above all fear not only of falling into disgrace, and the being put out

out of his Office, and of having those Lucrative Places taken from him which he had obtained by his Masters Favour and Bounty; but he should likewise be ready to give up and abandon both his own private personal Fortune, and also his very Life as a Sacrifice to his Sovereign's Displeasure, rather than thro a want of Fortitude to omit the discharging his Duty seasonably and faithfully. Nor will it be amiss upon such an occasion to have that of *Tacitus* in his Memory, who observeth, *Annal. lib. 15.* that there are certain times, wherein *quædam virtutes odio sunt*; Namely such as *severitas obstinata, & invictus adversus gratiam animus*, some Virtues are had in detestation, especially an unconquerable Integrity, and a Mind which thorough true Courage will not succumb nor bow to Flattery.

But to proceed to the other Particular, wherein the Fortitude of a Minister of State directly and immediately towards his Master, should exert and manifest it self, Namely then whensoever he is called and required to propose his Opinion and give his Advice, concerning the Affairs of his Sovereign, which are of Moment and Weight, that he should always do it with a modest courage, and a discreet openness and freedom, without the reserve of concealing any thing, that is either in it self necessary to be represented, or which he is in a condition to lay before him, altho' he do foresee that by his so doing, he shall not only beget Envy and Wrath towards him in his Fellow Ministers, but also incur the displeasure and the disgust of his Sovereign. And the less will be needful to be said in relation to this, in that it is accounted by all Men to belong essentially to the duty which he oweth to his Prince, in the Post and Station wherein he is called and honoured to serve him. The whole therefore that I will briefly call over in reference thereunto is, that as the alone things which he is to have in his view, in the
 Council

Council that he giveth to his Prince about his Affairs, ought to be the asserting and defending the Rights of his Crown, the maintaining and upholding of his Dignity and Glory, the skreening and covering him from all Personal Dangers, and the preserving and securing the Peace and Prosperity of his Dominions; so in the discharging and approving himself in the Opinion which he offereth, and in the Advice which he giveth about those Concerns of his Master, which may relate either to all, or to any of these; he is not only to act without reserve, as well as without guile and fraud; but he is to be under no Impression of Fear, whether what he is prepared and ought likewise to say, may give offence to his Fellow Ministers, and even to his Master. And tho' it prove hurtful, yea ruinous, to acquit himself therein accordingly; yet as he may have the present satisfaction of suffering, or even of perishing, in the way of, and for the performing his Duty; so he may not only assure himself of the being at the Divine Tribunal, rewarded for, as well as justified in, what he so Honestly and Bravely did in the said case; but he may also hope that Posterity may in time do him even that Right in this World, as both to vindicate him from the Infamy attended with Sufferings, which the pretended demerit of his Offence had brought upon him, and also to have his Memory in Renown, when the Memories of those, who were of opposite Sentiments unto him, and had maligned him for his Integrity and Fortitude, come not to be mentioned without abhorrency. Yea if the Person Regnant be Vertuous and Just (as it is the present happiness of these Nations, to have a Princess, of those and of many other excellent and laudable Qualities, to sway the Scepter) such a Prince will in time so far recover himself from the mistakes into which he had by Envious and Malicious People about him, been misled into an ill Opinion of
such

such a Minister as I have been describing, as not only to do him Justice, but also to Entertain both a more singular and distinguishing Kindness for, and to place a higher Confidence in him, than had formerly been done. Which as it is the Lot of some now recalled and re-assumed into the Ministry, who had by the Arts of others, and not by Her Majesties Inclinations, been serving Her in a Publick Capacity; so they may say with reference to their Mortifications, and the very Designs against their Lives, which some had both harboured and endeavoured to bring to effect, *meminisse juvabit*, that the Remembrance of them, is become to them matter of Comfort, instead of continuing to be matter of Grief. But were the Regnant Prince never so bad, and the Reign as unhappy for Men of Vertue, Honesty and Peaceableness, as that concerning which *Pliny* observeth in his *Panegyrick*, that *Majestatis singulare & unicum crimen eorum, qui crimine vacarent*, that they who were of the greatest fealty, and the most innocent from the being Offenders in any kind of all Men, were held for, and accordingly treated, as the worst and greatest Criminals: Yet even in such a case, it would both be the Duty, and for the Reputation of a Person of Integrity and of true Courage, to answer and act up to the Character which *Tacitus* gives of *Agricola* in the History of his Life, *honestius putabat offendere, quam adisse*, that he thought it to be more Honourable by his Bravour, Integrity and Loyalty, and by his admirable Conduct in the Post he was in, to displease him who was his Emperor, than to hate and to conspire against him.

The next Province in which a Minister of State may have frequent occasion for the employing and exercising his Fortitude, will be towards those who are equally in the Publick Ministry, as himself is, if they be not also both with respect to their Stations and Characters in the Government, and their Qualities and
Titles

Titles of Dignity, superior unto and more eminent in the Nation than he is. And as it will become every Minister of State whosoever it be, to behave himself towards those who are above him, with a deference proportionable both to the Secular Stiles by which they are denominated and distinguished from others, and also to the opulent Temporal Fortunes whereof they are possessed; so it will be no less his Duty than his Wisdom, to yeild and to pay a singular respect to such Privy Counsellors, as are placed in the chiefest and most honourable Posts of Administration of Affairs, about and under the Sovereign. Nor can any Minister of State (even the greatest) more sink the Reputation arising to him by and from his most eminent Characters, than thro his contemning and vilifying those who are called, as well as himself, to sit at the Council Table, and to give Advice to the Prince. For they who forget their own and one anothers Stations and Qualities, will tempt all others to do the like. And whosoever he be that detracteth from the Credit of an other, ought to reckon that it may speedily come home to himself. *Ad te post paulo pericula sentis*, saith *Hor. lib. 1. Epist.* wherefore that of *Seneca lib. 3. de ira*, is to be observed both by all persons, and at all times, viz. *Dum inter homines sumus, colamus humanitatem, injurias, convitia, Vellicationes contemnamus*, that while we live among Men, we are not only to carry our selves with Modesty, Decency, and Humanity towards all people whatsoever, but industriously to despise, as well as avoid, the injuring, backbiting, reproaching of, and even the detracting from any. And as the same Author *Epist. 14.* expresseth what our Behaviour should be towards Senators and such as are trusted to give Counsel to Sovereigns about State Affairs, to wit, *itaque sapiens nunquam potentium iras provocabit*, that he who is wise, ought never to awaken, or provoke the Anger and Wrath of those,

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who

who are powerful and mighty. Yet notwithstanding of all I have been saying, there may nevertheless be seasons and occasions, when a Person clothed with the Character of a Privy Counsellor to his Prince, will find himself obliged on the foot of the Fidelity, Honour, and Duty, which he oweth to his Master or Mistress, to exert a singular Fortitude, as well in reprimanding, as in expressing with freedom and boldness his dislike of the Indecency and Rudeness, wherewith any at the Board with himself shall presume to treat *him* or *her*, who is no less Sovereign over *them*, than over the meanest of *Subjects*. For tho a Prince be by his Royal Wisdom bound, as well as instructed, to carry towards all Persons of sublime Quality, and especially towards these, whom he hath chosen to advise him about his Regal Important Concerns, in a very distinct and discriminative way of respect, from what he practiceth towards others of his people, yet none are to be connived, and much less allowed, either by himself, or by others, to behave themselves with Rudeness and Insolency towards *him*.

Nor am I here to omit observing, how much of that unmannerliness and haughtiness wherewith some grow emboldned to treat their Sovereign, is at some times occasioned by their Intellectual Deficiencies, and by the Moral Faults of the Prince; whereas at other times Encouragement is taken for the doing of it, from the alone good Disposition and natural Temper of the Sovereign, accompanied with too much easiness and facility. In reference to the former whereof, as it is observed by Tacitus of Vitellius, *Historior. lib. 3. Tanta torpedit inoaserat animum, ut nisi principem eum fuisse non meminissent, ipse oblivisceretur*, That he was sunk into so great Stupidness, as that he would have forgotten his being a Prince, if others had not put him in mind of it: So it is with relation to the same Particular taken notice of by the aforesaid Author of Claudius, *cui non iudicium*

judicium, non odium erat, nisi Indite & Jussa, That thro' a deficiency of Understanding and Judgment, and a want of good Sense, he was the meer property of his Favourite, and did nothing of himself, but did every thing at the pleasure of his Ministers. Into which none can be either so Malicious, or so Impudent, as to resolve, or to dare to ascribe, the Immodesty, Insolence, and even Brutality, with which some who had been dignified and trusted to be Privy Counsellors and Ministers of State to *Her Majesty*, did from ambition, pride, and haughtiness usurp to treat *Her*. And for their taking advantage from the humility and sweetness of her natural disposition, and the easiness and facility of her Temper, to be rude, huffy, and dogmatical towards her, it declareth such a shameful and prodigious want of respect and good manners to their Sovereign (to say no worse of it) that I scarcely do know, what in a Civil and Political way, can either expiate it, or atone for it. And such a Laudable Infirmary in *her Majesty* (if an Imperfection of any kind may be allowed to be so stiled) is the less to be wondred at, and ought to give the less surprise to such who have with grief observed it, forasmuch as it doth come Hereditarily to *Her Majesty* and in the way of an indefeasible Inheritance, thro the having been so woven into the Constitution and Complexion of all the Kings of the Royal Family of *Steward*, that neither greatness of Piety, nor vastness of Wisdom, could prove a sufficient Shield and Defence against the forenamed Imperfection, which hath proved so habitual in all who have been of that Royal Stemm and Race. Nor can it be amiss, to have it here observed, that all the great Political *Evils* (save one) incident to the most prudent Princes of the forementioned Royal Family, have had their foundation in, and have proceeded from, Signal and Eminent Virtues. For having been Princes of Truth and Uprightness themselves,

they could not imagine, that such as had by Oaths, as well as by Promises and Vows, sworn and vouched Allegiance to them, should not only have forsaken and abandon'd, but have been also treacherous unto and betray'd them. And then they also themselves having been Princes of great thankfulness, and of generous acknowledgments to those who had done them any considerable service, (tho in their Performances thereof, they had only discharged the Duty, which their Fealty obliged them unto) these Princes could not prevail with themselves to think, that they whom they had not only raised from a mean Condition, but had conferred Honours, and heaped Wealth upon them, should ever turn to be disloyal unto, and rebellious against them. Finally these Princes, having themselves been always sincere in their Religion, they judged it peculiar to believe, that such who had frequently by their swearing solemnly, made their appeal to the Omniscience and Justice of God, of their inviolable Loyalty, should after all these, not only prove false and disloyal, but have thereby given Evidence to the World, that whatsoever they did in those ways and kinds, was meerly to cover them from the suspicion of their intending to betray and ruine the said Princes. Of all which in the three forenamed Instances, King *Charles the First* of happy and blessed memory (to name no other Prince or King of that Race) had too many deplorable Examples and Proofs in Persons of several Ranks and Degrees. But then it cannot escape the being acknowledged (tho it is with the profoundest Humility, as well as with a very sublime inward Sorrow, that I mention it) how that it hath been both hereditary and habitual to Kings and Queens of the aforesaid most Royal Family, that after they had upon mature consideration in themselves, and upon just and weighty reasons suggested to them by their own Understandings, come to a full Judgment in their own

own Minds, concerning those important Affairs, which related unto their very Sacred Persons, and Royal Dignity, as well as to the Welfare and Prosperity of their Dominions, yet how upon the meer importunity of those about them, in whose fidelity they had placed a confidence, they did not only forbear to follow their own purposes and resolutions, but totally departed from and renounced them. And in the room thereof gave themselves up to the Pursuit and Execution of such Advices, as had been given to them by others, which tho' not always unfaithfully or ill meant, yet were seldom justly Calculated in Subserviency to the ends they had designed, or truly agreeable to the measures, which ought to have been pursued for the compassing of them. 'Tis true that this Deficiency and Failure, which hath been too often as well as sadly observable, in the Royal Conduct of those of the Regal Family of *Steward*, did not arise nor proceed from any Ethical Vice, or Moral Fault in them, but was always to be either resolved into that needless diffidence and distrust, which they had of their own Understandings and Judgments, or to be ascribed to an immoderate complacence, which they had for, and to an undue Facility that they exercised towards, those whom they Loved and Trusted. Nevertheless to be Chargeable with either, or both, of which, in Affairs of great and hazardous Consequence, was and is (that I may speak of it as moderately as I possibly can) a very considerable, and in the event doth often prove to be, a dangerous Political Imperfection. In that it doth not only expose them to the being misled even by honest People about them, who are of weak Intellectuals and of shallow Politicks; but it doth also lay them unavoidably obnoxious, to the being knowingly, wilfully, and designedly berray'd, by such near unto them in whom they confide, who have Mercenary and Ambitious Ends of their own, to be served and promoted

moted upon them. And as too much easiness in a Prince to his very Ministers of State, as well as to his other Servants, will teach them to become not only the more Importunate, but also the more Insolent in their Applications and Addresses to him; so it will be an Emboldning of them to continue and persevere therein, when that the doing thereof, is more Meritorious, than Punishable; as *Tacitus Historior. lib. 1.* observeth in reference to *Galba*, of whom he saith, that *apud credulum principem, minore metu, & majore premio peccatur*, which I forbear Englishing. And whereas the Affairs of all Kings and Princes, whosoever they be, do more subsist *Fama quam vi*, by the virtue of Reputation, than by the Power of Force, that I may use a Phrase of the aforesaid *Author*, it must therefore prove very prejudicial unto them, if a Prince comes to sink his Credit in the World, upon its being believed, that he is both unconstant to himself, and unsteady and fluctuating in his Purposes and Resolutions, thro' his exercising too much Easiness and Facility towards those, whom he Entrusteth and Employeth to Advise him.

And whereas the occasions, which a Minister of State, who resolveth to be faithful in his Post, may have for the Exertion of his Conrage and Fortitude, with respect unto, and against those, who are in the Ministry with himself, and equally called and honoured as he is to be Privy Counsellors, are possible to occur in divers Instances, and to administer matter and ground for a brave and valorous behaviour with respect to several particulars, I shall therefore now proceed to the bringing these into View, and to the calling them distinctly tho briefly over. As *First* when any such should attempt and endeavour the engrossing his Sovereign to himself, and the making a Monopoly of him, so that he shall neither be permitted to see with the Eyes, nor to hear with the Ears

of any besides his; it doth then become the indispensable duty of a faithful Minister of State, to exert and to manifest all the Courage and Fortitude he possibly can, both in the opposing of such an Insolence, and also to give his Prince, as well timely warning concerning it, as faithful Advice against the suffering of it. For tho a Sovereign is always to be allowed, from whom he will shut and restrain his Eyes and Ears, and to whom he will open and extend them; yet none even of those who are most trusted by their Prince, should assume the Audacity and usurp the Tyranny of setting Bounds and Limits to their Prince therein. And for an honest Minister of State to look tamely and silently on, and to permit it, is to be knowingly and wilfully accessory to his Sovereign's being made a Prisoner, and his having his very Bedchamber made his *Goal*. And as it was never honourable or safe for a Potentate himself, nor for the Welfare and Happiness of his People, to have all his Counsellors to *Ride upon One Horse*; so for the most part they who have made it their business to have it so, have in the Issue and Event found, that what was the Fate of *Sejanus* for the doing the like to *Tiberius* in his Old Age, to have befallen, and come to have been verified upon themselves.

But then in the next Place, that in reference whereunto, the *Fortitude* of an honest and upright Minister of State, is to be exercised against and in opposition to his Fellow Counsellors, is when they arise to that degree of Impudence towards, and even of Tyranny over their Prince, as not so much as to admit him in any case to see even with his own Eyes. By the former they treated him as a *Pupil*; but by this they make him meaner and less than a meer and very Property. For instead of being contented to carry the Torch and Lanthorn before him, whereby he may discern his Royal Way, and be made acquainted with his Legal Affairs, and how in
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Honour, Wisdom, and Justice, they are to be administered, which is the Proper Office of a Minister of State; nothing will please them, but the very plucking out of his Eyes, and the perfectly blinding of him, which can be designed for no other or better End, than the having it always in their Power, either to lead him into a *Sloo*, or to throw him down a Precipice. For as having put out his Eyes, they will suffer none to lead and guide him but themselves, so he must in every thing submit to their *Indira & Jussa*, whatsoever they dictate or prescribe, how disserviceable soever the doing thereof, may be to his own Royal Interest, Reputation and Character, provided it be but subservient to their own personal and particular Ends and Designs.

An other Particular in relation to which, there will be need as well as room, for one who is a faithful Minister of State, to shew and employ his Fortitude, in the contradicting and opposing those, of the same Dignity, Character, and Confidence about his Master or Mistress, as himself, is when any of that Rank and Station, shall demand of and expect from him or her, *quæ neque dari, neque accipi, salva Republica possunt*, as *Tacitus* expresseth it *Historiar. lib. 1. Things, which with the safety of the Sovereign, and of his Dominions, can neither be granted nor accepted*. As in case such a Person, whom we have described, upon his being advanced unto, and possessed of the chief place of Power, as well as of Trust and Confidence under his Prince (as for Example with the command of his most Potent and Principal Army) will not be satisfied therewith, nor acquiesce therein, unless all the Posts of Assurance, Opulency, and Authority whatsoever belonging and appertaining to the Government, be conferred upon his Relations, Creatures and Partisans, which is equivalent to the having them bestowed upon, and placed in himself; such a Person is not therein silently to be

be connived at, and much less tamely and without opposition complied with, by one called to give Advice to his Master, or to his Mistriss, who is of True Courage and of answerable Fidelity. Forasmuch as the Observation of *Tacitus, Historior. lib. 2.* will generally (if not always) prove true, *Nec unquam satis fida potentia, ubi nimia est, they whom a Prince would have faithful to him, he must never trust them too far, nor put himself into their Power.*

Another thing, which will require the exercise of the Fortitude of a Minister of State, towards and against those of the same Dignity and Character about his Prince, that himself is, if not much superiour unto, and elevated above him therein, is that when his said Fellow Counsellors, will not be contented to hold and enjoy, what their Master or Mistriss, of their distinguishing Grace, Goodness, Favour, and Generosity, have conferred and bestowed upon them, by the Claims, Titles, and Assurance, of their Kindness and Authority, but do seek and endeavour to have them by an Act of Parliament, independent upon the Will and Pleasure of their Sovereign, to be settled upon, and made unalienably heritable by them during his Life. And that at a season when many Factionists of all sorts, will not be prevailed upon to acknowledg their Mistriiss to have any other Right, for *Her* Possession and Enjoyment of the Crowns of these Dominions, than what she hath by a Parliamentary Statute. Whereof to speak in the most modest Terms, that the Matter will admit, was no less than an endeavouring to have set themselves in their Posts, upon the same *Basis* with *Her* Majesty in *Hers*. And after *Her* having been so signally kind and generous to them, as *She* hath manifested *Her* self to be, was no less according to the ordinary Language of these Times, than the placing them under the Denomination (at the least) of Knights upon the *Chefs-Board* with their Sovereign: So that they might have it under their Choice

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and Liberty to give *Her Check-Mate* when they could, if it was their Inclination to do it.

A further Particular, in which the *Fortitude* of an honest *Minister of State*, may find Occasion and Opportunity for the displaying it self against Privy Counsellors, is that when some of that Character and Appellation do come into the Presence of Her Majesty, and do vouchsafe (as they account it) to discourse to *Her*, instead either of entring with the good breeding and decency that become Gentlemen, and much less with the Humility due from Subjects to their Sovereign, or of speaking to *Her* with Modesty, Respect, and Deference, they both enter with the Air of Mastership over Her Majesty, and in the place of giving their Counsel and Advice in submissive and gentle Expressions, they prescribe unto Her in an Authoritative and Dictatorial manner; with a thus it must be done, in the room of saying that in their humble Opinion, it were convenient it should be so. And whereas in all Advices which are given to a Prince the *Argumenta*, should be *fortia*, for the supporting and enforcing them ought to be pertinent and weighty; but the *Verba*, words, wherein they deliver their Opinions *Dulcia*, gentle, modest and even sweet; there have been some Privy Counsellors, who as they judged it to be a debasing of themselves, to represent the Grounds and Inducements, on which their Opinions were founded and superstructed, so they used to declare themselves with a positiveness and dogmaticalness, as if they had a mind it should be understood, that neither Excuse nor Pardon were to be allowed, unless what they had oracularly dictated, was implicitly entertained and submitted unto. Whereas no Person at a Council Table, of whatsoever Quality he is, or Character he beareth, should be admitted to give his Opinion and Advice, without the producing and laying open (in case he be so desired) the Motives and Arguments on which it is grounded; in that his forbearing,
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and much more his refusing, to do so, would be to prescribe, as well to his Sovereign, as to his Fellow Counsellors, that what he offereth must be assented unto, and acquiesced in, without their having Light afforded and administred unto them, whereby they might be so informed and instructed, as either to form a Rational Judgment of their own, or be rendred willing as *Men* to submit to his, and not to be forced thereunto as if they were *Brutes*. And then as for the Words and Terms, wherein the very greatest at a Council Board should declare his Mind and express his Sentiments, they should be always soft, modest, and respectful, and not in the least measure huffing and imperious. Nor will it be amiss for every one, who is selected from among the other Subjects to give Advice to his Sovereign, to be put in mind of two Observations of *Tacitus*; whereof as the First is, *Annal. lib. 4.* concerning a Letter written by *Vibius Seneca* to *Tiberius*, in which *addiderat quædam contumacius Et ea Cæsar post octo annos rettulit*, having said some things more undecently and haughtily, than he should, Cæsar did not omit the remembring and revenging them eight Years after: So the Second, *Historior. lib. 3.* relateth to an Epistle written by *Primus Antonius*, whereof he saith, that *Literas ad Vespasianum composuit, jactantius quam ad principem*; that he had written more haughtily to *Vespasian*, than was convenient or decent to have been done to a Prince.

The last Particular I shall mention, in reference to the occasions and opportunities, which one who is resolved to approve himself an honest Minister of State, may have for the exercise of his *Fortitude* towards those of his own Station and Character, is, that when any of that Post, come either to be refused and denied by their Sovereign, what they had demanded and required of him, or her, who is so; or to be contradicted and opposed by any Member of the Privy Council, in what

they had taken upon them and presumed Masterly to challenge and to claim the Grant of; they shall thereupon instead either of paying a due and unreserved Submission to the will and pleasure of the *Former*, or of patiently bearing with, and calmly digesting the dissent of the *Latter* from, and the Liberty they have taken in the modest gainsaying and withstanding them therein, they shall both assume the insolence of withdrawing and departing disrespectfully, and huffingly, if not menacingly, from the Presence of their *Prince*, and also to entertain a Malice against, and resolve to be revenged upon those Counsellors unto and about their Sovereign, who had dared to dislike and to disapprove of what they had been endeavouring to wrest, extort, and exact from *him*, or from *her*, that is so. Now I do say, that upon such an Emergency as this, and at such a Season, how he who is an upright Minister of State, is by his very Loyalty and Fealty, as well as by the measures and ties of Religion, obliged to exert the utmost Courage and Fortitude he possibly can, as well for the awakening and stirring up of his Sovereign, to a sense and resentment of such a behaviour, as to exercise himself a Personal vigilance and care, for the obviating and preventing those effects and consequences, which such a rudeness unto, and even contempt of the Prince, do give too much jealousy as well as umbrage for the Apprehension and Fear of. And tho' I will not here take upon me, the mentioning of any Transactions and Facts of the foregoing Complexion (not to say Malignity) under the present Reign, yet whosoever shall think it convenient to look into a late Discourse, stiled *Faults on both Sides*, will in diverse Places there, especially in Page 35, meet with a relation of some Occurrences and Carriages, which do too nearly approach unto, and have too much the hue, colour, and resemblance of what I have been speaking of.

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And having laid open all, that I either intended, or do think needful to be said, of, and concerning the Fortitude requisite in a Minister of State, towards those of the same Station, Dignity, and Character about his Prince with himself, and when and how there may be room and occasion for the exercise of that noble Quality; before I do shut up this Article, I am to bring into view, what use there may be in a Person of the forenamed Office and Trust, for the exertion and employment of it, with respect and in relation unto any other Subjects whatsoever; let their degrees, numbers, or situations in callings and business be what they will. And it is no small Advantage to a Minister of State in and under the present Government, for the displaying and manifesting his Fortitude, against Subjects of any kinds or appellations, who shall either presume to act undecently and rudely, or to run into what is tumultuous, seditious, and may be worse, than that as the Sovereign her self aspireth not to any Ways or Methods of Governing her People, than what the Laws have chalk't forth, appointed and determined for the Ruling of them; so she will not allow those of the nearest and highest Posts about *Her*, to carry themselves towards Her Subjects according to other Measures or Standards. Nor is there occasion or room for the most Pragmatical or Factious Person in all Her Majesties Dominions, to say to Her with Truth and Justice, what *Pacatius* is reported to have said to the Emperor *Theodosius*, *tantum tibi licet, quantum per leges licebit*, that nothing can be done Lawfully, but what the Laws do permit the doing of. Forasmuch as it is both *Her* Principle that She should Act and Govern no otherways, and also Her Practice hath been in all things answerable thereunto. And it is the happiness of the Subjects of these Dominions, to have a Right unto, and to hold their Liberties and Properties, by the very Constitution of the Government ;
whereas

whereas the *Romans* of old under their Emperors (not to speak of the generallity of Nations and Provinces even in *Europe* at this very time, and much less of those who are Subjects to the *Mogul*, the *Sultan*, or *Emperor* of *Persia*) enjoyed theirs only under some good Reigns, and then by the meer goodness, favour and benignity of such as were Merciful Princes, and who excelled in all Political governing Vertues, such as *Nerva*, of whom *Tacitus* in his *Life* of *Agricola*, gives this singular Commendation and admirable Character, that *res olim dissociabiles miscuit, principatum & libertatem*, he had brought the Sovereign of the Prince, and the Liberty of the People, amicably to unite, and to be consistent together, which in former Reigns, had stood in opposition and enmity the one to the other. And as his Successor, and Eminent Parallel, *Trajan*, to, as well as of whom, *Pliny* pronounceth in his *Panegyrick*, *Eodem foro utuntur principatus & libertas: & quæ precipue tua gloria est, sapius vincitur fiscus*, that his Claim with respect to Sovereign Jurisdiction, and the pretensions of the Subjects in relation to Freedom and Property, were heard, tried and decided at one and the same Bar; and that it greatly redounded to his particular Glory, that the Judicial Sentence, was often given against the Imperial Exchequer.

But whereas there frequently are too many among those stiled Subjects, who notwithstanding of what (as is commonly alledged) they either have a Right unto by the very Original Constitution of the Government, or have obtained thro' the Grant of their Princes, by subsequent Municipal Laws, and that whatsoever they can lay claim unto in any of the aforesaid Ways, is fully allowed to, and justly preserved for them, by the Regnant Prince; yet instead of their being thankful for, or so much as contented with, the Immunities, Rights, and Privileges, which they are entitled unto, and which the So-

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veraign hath by no Act of her Administration, endeavoured to supplant them in, and much less to rob them of, they will be both encroaching upon the few Perogatives that are left to the Sovereignty, and snatching at the remaining Jewels belonging to the Crown, which if they be suffered to compass or effect, the King will sink below a *Doge of Venice*, and his Title to the Throne become precarious.

And for the encouragement of a Minister of State, both to act himself with undaunted Courage, and also to advise his *Master* or *Mistriss* vigorously to assert their Sovereign Authority, in such cases when Multitudes of various Ranks and Degrees, are not only immodestly and seditiously clamorous, but imperiously insulting and prescribing; such Ministers of State as I have mentioned, have not only the Testimony of *Titus Livius*, for emboldning them thereunto, who as he telleth us in one Place, *Hac natura multitudinis est, aut humiliter servit, aut superbe dominatur*; that it is the Nature of the Bulk of all sorts, either humbly to submit and obey, or proudly to insult and domineer; so the same *Livy* informeth us in an other Place, that if they be withstood and opposed with that Courage and Vigorousness they ought to be, *Ex fercibus universis, singuli metu suo obediētes*, that from continuing to be unruly and fierce as they are a Multitude, they will singly and a part become submissive and dutiful, from and through an Apprehension and Dread, of what may otherwise overtake and befall themselves. But these Ministers of the foregoing Character, have likewise the late Example of *King Charles* the 2d before them to be instructed by, what will be their Interest, as well as their Duty to do, upon such Occasions. Forasmuch as that truly wise in himself, as well as Great Prince, after he had partly thorough a gentleness and easiness of natural Temper and Disposition, and partly through a Supinēss and a Want of

of due Application to his Royal Concerns, administred both Occasion and Encouragement during most of his Reign, to a Numerous and Disloyal Gang of people of various Qualities and Ranks, not only from time to time to disturb and disquiet the Peaceableness and Tranquility of his Reign, but to Embarque and Unite in Treasonable Conspiracies, against his very sacred Person, as well as his Royal Dignity; yet how upon his becoming awakened and excited towards the end of his Reign, both to apply himself with more care and sedulousness to his Royal Affairs, than he had previously done, and also to let those know, who had been traiterous, as well as seditious against *Him*, that *He* would Execute that Authority and Power towards and upon them, which the Laws had cloathed him with, and vested in him; but that the Rebellious as well as Tumultuous Herd of Men of all sorts, were upon Motives of Fear and Dread with respect to themselves, tho not from Principles of Allegiance and Fealty to him, rendred as Mild and Obedient, and even more sycophantly Obsequious towards him, than they were, who had always approved themselves the most Loyal and Dutiful of all his People. So that there did not then appear so much as one in all his Dominions, who was not ready to subscribe to that of the *Poet Claudian*,

*Fallitur egregio quisquis sub principe, credit
Servitium, nunquam libertas gravior extat,
Quam sub Rege pio —*

But alas! he died too soon, not only as to the securing the Persons and Royal Dignity of those who might succeed him on the Throne; but as to the rendring the Peace, Tranquility and Opulency, of these Dominions, safe and out of Danger, from the being after him invaded, subverted, and miserably reduced.

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And forasmuch, as Three very unexpected, as well as deplorable Heads, Particulars, and Instances, have of late been administred for a Minister of State to express his Courage and Fortitude in reference unto, against numbers of *Her Majesties Subjects*, of divers *Secular Conditions*, and of *Religious Perswasions* and *Communities*, it will therefore be necessary, that some things should be here modestly brought into view, and humbly offered, with relation to them. Whereof the *First* is, that in and under a Reign, wherein *Her Majesty* by a strict observation of all the *Laws*, whereby *Her Subjects* of any kind can pretend that they ought to be Governed, hath left no room even to those who have most desired and watched for it, of *Talking*, *Writing*, and much less of *Preaching*, against the *Doctrines* of *Non-resistance*, and of *Passive Obedience*, towards such as are *Kings* or *Queens* to and over the *People* of *Great Britain* and the *Dominions* whereunto belonging, yet there never was in or under any *Reign* whatsoever, that Licentiousness as well as *Liberty* usurped and assumed, not only of opposing, but even of lampooning and of ridiculing those *Principles*, which are by a *Parliamentary Statute*, of the 13th of *Ch. 2d.* hitherto unrepealed, imposed upon all degrees of *Men* of these *Nations*, no less than they are warranted and enjoined by the *Almighty God* in his infallible and authentick *Records*, of the *Holy Scriptures*. Yea very great numbers of various *Degrees* and *Characters*, as well as of differing *Situations* as to their *Employments* in the *Kingdom*, instead of having behaved themselves, as wise and good *People* in all *Ages*, who have been most concerned for their *Laws*, *Liberties* and *Properties*, have used to do, Namely, as *Pliny* expresseth it in his *Panagyrick*, *Non aliis esse principem gratiorem, quam qui maxime Dominum graventur*, That none do more love, venerate and esteem a good Prince; than they who can least bear with,

and do most hate a Tyrant: Yet too many have heretofore been, and still are in these Nations, who have not only been discontented with, but even seditious and traitorous, against several Princes, of every one of whom it might be said, as the same *Pliny* hath it in his fore-mentioned *Panegyrick*, *Sedem obtinet principis, ne sit Domino locus*, he therefore called the Office and Part of a King, to prevent and hinder the Peoples falling under the Power, Jurisdiction and Cruelty of a Tyrant. Nor ought I here to omit the positively offering, as well as the modest suggesting, that there is no Potentate or Sovereign Prince in the whole Universe, no not in Europe, where some of the Territories and Districts of those who bear Rule being scanty and narrow, their Subjects must consequently be but few, but that they do all of them expect the duties of *Non Resistance* and of *Passive Obedience*, from whosoever is permitted to have their constant abode within their Principalities and Districts. And I could here wish that the favours and preferments vouchsafed unto the Subjects of other Sovereigns, for their being Seditious and Disloyal against them, may not have encouraged some of Her Majesties own natural Subjects, to be mutinous (not to say worse) towards Her. However this I am assured of, that the promoting and rewarding of the Disloyalty of the Subjects of a neighbouring Monarch in the beginning of the Reign of King *Ch. 1st* was both the occasion and cause, of Cardinal *Richieu's* being provok'd to use all the Arts and Frauds he possibly could, and also to be at great Expence upon some, who were Subjects to the forenamed Religious and Gracious King, for the involving him in those Wars, which ended in the Parricidal Murder of him, and from the Guilt and Punishment whereof these Nations are not yet delivered, nor likely to be, while not only *Calves-Head* Clubs are kept up and observed with impunity, but the practice of di-

vers other things in relation to the Monarchy, and towards the Sovereign, are tamely overlook't and conniv'd at. But to return from this Digression (if it deserveth to be called so) to what I was discoursing of; could there be a more surprizing, as well as an undecent thing said, considering the Character of him who spake it, and that not only during Her Majesties Just, yea Merciful and Gracious Reign, but also both in Her presence and within Her hearing, than in order to the justifying the Lawfulness of destroying Princes for egregious Faults committed by them, in the administration of their Governments, to mention the Bloody unnatural Tyrannous and Brutal *Nero's* being condemned by the Senate of *Rome* to be punished *more majorum*, i.e. *to be whipt to Death*. Nor is it possible, in consistency with common Sense, to imagine what should have influenced so many at this Juncture, and under such a Reign as the present is, to have Printed and Preached so infamously, as well as disdainfully, concerning and in opposition to the Doctrine of *Non Resistance*, &c. but that they would keep the Principles of deposing, and of further punishing Kings, or Queens, in Credit and Reputation, until the Disloyal and Rebellious Humour (attended with an encouraging opportunity) cometh to possess them of acting accordingly. So that as nothing whatsoever can occur of a more menacing Nature, with respect to Her Majesty and Her Royal Dignity, than that which I have been mentioning; so it is the duty of every Person who is a Minister of State unto, and under the Queen, to exert and employ his utmost Courage and Fortitude against Principles and Persons of the aforesaid kind. Neither should such a Minister suffer it to be at any time out of his Remembrance, that too many of all Ranks in these Dominions, are of the unhappy Temper, which *Tacitus Historiar. lib. 1.* makes *Galba* to tell *Piso* the Romans were of, *qui nec totam servitutem*

servitutem pati possunt nec totam libertatem, can as little comports with, and well bear too much Liberty, as undergo too much Thralldom. However it is some comfort, that at this Juncture, the Mob, whom those People I have been speaking of, had for divers Reigns trained up and made to *Eccho* unto, and to back and support them in, whatsoever they seditiously and traiterously either vented, or attempted, that that Refuge, Support, and even *Sheet Anchor*, hath not only at last failed them, but as *Tacitus Historiar. lib. 3.* speaks of that Gang of People, in relation to *Vitellius*, & *Vulgus eadem pravitate infestatur, qua faverat*: Which I do forbear to Translate.

The *Second* and next thing, which offereth it self to be laid open, and to be somewhat insisted upon, with respect to the necessity there is for one who is at this Juncture a Minister of State, to exert his Fortitude in opposition to Numbers of People, of Divers Degrees, Parties, and Religious Communions in these Nations: Doth and will respect those, who after they had so undecently (not to say menacingly) been dictating and prescribing to Her Majesty against Her *Dissolving* of the last *Parliament*, have since the *Dissolution* thereof, and that upon most Deliberate and Weighty Considerations, not only dared to asperse and calumniate *Her* in a most malicious manner, for the having attempted to exercise *Her* Royal Authority in the doing thereof, but have many of them assumed the Insolence, of venting themselves in Terms, in reference to which, I may with Modesty, as well as with Justice, apply that of *Tacitus Historiar. lib. 2.* *Qui deliberant, desciverunt, to have been advising*, about what their Speeches imported they were, *was the next, if not the same thing, to their rebelling.* For tho' none of the very worst of that sort of Men, dare arise to the Presumption of denying it to remain hitherto an indubitable Prerogative of the Crown (notwithstanding it may be

be both to their Envy and Grief) that the King or Queen Regnant over these Dominions, may dissolve any Sitting Parliament, whensoever in their Royal Wisdom they shall think it either expedient, or but convenient, so to do, yet the People of whom I am speaking, have behaved themselves in their Expressions, and even otherwise, with an unwonted Clamour, yea and with Turbulency in divers places, against Her Majesty upon that alone Motive and Account. Tho' no Injury, either is or can be done to the Subjects, by the dissolving of *One* Parliament, provided an *Other* be called, which may serve the Government, and provide for the Safety and Welfare of the Two United Kingdoms, as present Exigences do, and New Emergences may require, in that thro' the having their Rights of Election remaining free to them, they may chuse again either all, or what number they please of those who were Members of the foregoing Parliament, nor can any thing give fuller and more uncontrollable Evidence, of the Approbation, which the generality of Her Majesties Loyal People of all Ranks and Conditions have given, both of Her Majesties Wisdom in the dissolving thereof, and of their own belief of the necessity there was, that she should have done so; than (not to speak of Addresses from all parts in reference thereunto, which ought to be received and look'd upon, as the best Indications, as well of their Fealty, as of their Opinion and Judgment at some season) their electing so few of them who were Members of that Parliament to sit in this; but their having, especially in the Counties, and in the most opulent and powerful Cities of both Nations, chosen Persons of Inclinations and Principles, much different from what many of them of the last Parliament were. And as it is never to be forgotten by those who are Ministers of State about a *British* Sovereign, what even a Parliament, namely that of 41, did to King *Charles the First*, of Blessed Memory,

mory, after that (through solemn promises of rendring him a Glorious King, and upon pretended Inducements of paying those Debts, which they had contracted for the dismissing and sending home of the *Scots* Invaders, whom they ought to have drove out of *England* by Blows and Cold Iron, and not by Salaries and Bribes in Gold and Silver) they had prevailed with that Prince to Grant by an Enacted Law and Statute, that they should not be Dissolved without their own Concurrence and Consent; so I hope that nothing which beareth the hue and compulsion thereof (not to say which approacheth thereunto) will by any of Her Majesties Privy Council, be connived at, and much less allowed of, during and under Her Reign. For as to that other *Prerogative*, viz. the Right and Power of making Peace and War, which belong so essentially to a Crown, that without them it is but a glistening Bauble, tho' Her Majesty be not hitherto wholly and altogether deprived and stript thereof, yet She is by an *Act* of a late foregoing Parliament so bound up and restrained, that She cannot make Peace with those Potentates, against whom She is at present in War, save upon Terms and Conditions, which those Princes are not in likelyhood to be brought unto, without the utter impoverishing, as well as the ruine of Her Majesties Dominions. The thought whereof makes me to wish, that what *Pliny* says of *Trajan* in his *Panegyrick* to him, had been attended unto, and observed by some others, Namely, *Provida severitate cavisti. ne fundata legibus civitas, eversa legibus videretur*, That a Constitution founded and established by and upon Laws, should not come and be reduced by Laws, to the being subverted and overthrow. For I may with great Modesty as well as Truth, say of this War, what the Oracle is reported to have Answered concerning an other, *Plorare victos, perire victores*, That while the Conquered Lament, the Conquerors

rors do Perish. Nor will I add more with reference to that Invasion made upon the Sovereignty, by restraining Her Majesty in the exercise of Her Royal Power in the making of Peace with Her present Enemies, whensoever She could do it with Honour to Her self, and Prosperity to Her Dominions; than what is related concerning *Solomon*, *1 Kings 2. from v. 14. to v. 22.* how that while in the height of his Wisdom, attended with true fear of God, on his Mother *Bath-Sheba's* applying to him upon the importunity of his Eldest Brother *Adonijah*, that *Abishai* the *Shunamite* might be given to the said *Adonijah* to Wife, replied, *Ask for him the Kingdom also.*

The Third and last Particular under this Head, which I am to speak unto, relating to the Fortitude requisite in a Minister of State, towards any of Her Majesties Subjects of the aforesaid Ranks and Denominations, will be in reference to such, who do not only allow themselves a Freedom to fasten all the Scurrilous Reproaches, which their little Wit and Sense, stirred up and acted by Great Malice, can enable them to asperse and calumniate their Fellow Subjects, with and by, in case they do conceive them to be any ways tardy and deficient in the observation of the Laws relating to Liberty, Property, or common Justice, but they do also murmur and are even ready to mutiny against the Queen Her self, whensoever they fancy, tho' never so falsely and ungroundedly, that She doth not strictly and punctually act according to the Laws in all the Parts of Her Royal Administration: While in the mean time they assume to themselves a Licentiousness of openly violating the Laws of all sorts and kinds, provided they can find it subservient, either to their Secular or Party Interests, to do so. Whereof out of many Instances under the last Reign, which I could speak of both with Truth and with Acrimony, I shall only take the Liberty

Liberty here for the mentioning a few. Of which one is, the calmly and tamely submitting, to the detention of bringing the forfeited Estates in *Ireland* into the English Exchequer, which had been particularly enacted by a Parliamentary Statute that they should be, and also by conniving at their having been scandalously misapplied, and all this because that as some of themselves, and many of their Friends, had their Shares in those Misapplications, so divers of them had their Equivalents in other ways, for their being submissively silent with relation thereunto. An other is, that after the Peace of *Reswick*, they were not only ready to have consented unto, but were themselves the Instruments of designing and contriving, the having obtained an Army of Twenty Thousand Men to be kept on Foot, and those to have been regularly and duely paid, as in the case of a foreign War, by these Dominions. By which they would have put *King William*, who had Ambition enough to be as absolute (had the pretending thereunto been consistent with his Interest) as his Neighbours, into condition of subverting the Liberties of these Nations. And which was no less than a certain Person meant when by a Printed and Published Paper, he endeavoured to the hazard and at the expence of all our Laws, Rights, and Liberties, to have gotten him acknowledged King of these Realms, on the Foot, and by the Title of Conquest. Which would have been more fatal to our Constitution, than any thing charged on the abdicated King *James* by the very worst of his Enemies, ever was. But then a third, and that much the worst of all, was their being accessory unto, and their concurring in the corrupting and debauching the Members of the House of Commons, by Bribes, Places, and Preferments, which was to prepare a natural and easy way for the total subversion of our Constitution. And if they could meet with no Prince or

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Princes of such Prostitute Honour and Principles, as to embrace and improve the Advantage given them, for making themselves *Despoticall*, they thereby chalk out a Method, and paved a Road for the Usurpation and Tyranny of a Rump, or of a Second *Oliver*. However I am bound in Justice to subjoyn, that as they were chiefly Men of the *Whig* Party, who run into and cooperated in all those Dismal Courses and Transactions, whereof I have been briefly speaking (they having at those times the Superiority in all Assemblies whatsoever) so they did not only thereupon become loathsome and hateful, to all true English Men and Loyal Persons of that Party, who are not a few, but that it also originally and especially proceeded from those of that Denomination and Character, that not only such mischievous Contrivances and Compliances, were blasted and defeated, but that all the Reliefs and Remedies against them which were possible, were fallen upon, pursued, and accomplished.

But that which I have chiefly here to say concerning a certain Set of Men of the foregoing Stile (and I cannot say Party, but Faction) is their daring avowedly to violate, and even to trample under their Feet, the most necessary and useful Laws, which were ever made and enacted for the Advantage and benefit of the Navigation, Traffick, and Commerce of this Kingdom. Whereby they have that Ignominious Censure put upon them, which *Livy* bestoweth upon a Gang of Men under the Roman *Decem Viri*, viz. *Malebat licentiam suam, quam omniam Libertatem*; that they rather sought and endeavoured to pursue and establish a licentiousness for and in themselves, than to mind and take care of the Liberty and Priviledg, which should in common have appertained unto all. I am sensible that the Consideration of, and Animadversion upon, the Violation of the Laws, I am

going to mention, do not so fall under the Cognifance of a *Minifter* of State, as that thro his meerly being fo, he can by the greateft exercife of his *Fortitude*, in his Diflike of, and Oppofition thereunto, either abfolutely hinder, and much lefs bring thofe Abominable and Illegal Trefpaffes and Perpetrations, to be judicially punifhed: Yet two things do fall within the Circle of a Perfon of the forementioned Character, wherein he may both manifefit his Fidelity and Courage for his Sovereign, as well as for his Country, in reference to what I am haftning to represent. Whereof the one will be, to advife Her Majefty neither to truft, nor to employ, any whom She fhall find guilty of the Crimes, which I have hitherto barely infinuated, but to account the Authors of them among the worft of Criminals, and to treat them accordingly fo far as fhe legally can. The other is, that tho it may not come within their Sphear, as they are Privy Counfellors, to get thofe Villanous Facts to be totally reftained, and much lefs to obtain their being chaftifed according to their Demerit, yet it will always lie under their Power, as they are Members of either of the two Houfes of Parliament, to procure at the leaft Relief and Remedy againft fuch bold Invaſions upon the known Laws, and the open violating of them, to the great miſchievous Dammage of many of Her Majefties moſt ſerviceable and uſeful Subjects. Yea it may not only be poſſible; but eaſy, for Miniſters of State as they are Members of either of the Houſes of Parliament, to procure the Perpetrators of what I am immediately going to rehearſe, to be both Parliamentary marked out and ſtigmatifed for ſuch as they have ſhewed themſelves to be, and alſo to be made obnoxious to whatſoever the *two Houſes*, ſhall in their Wiſdom and Juſtice think fit to offer to Her Majeſty in the way of a *Bill*, for her Royal Aſſent and *Fiat* there-

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unto, against those Insolent and villanous Transgressors of the best and most useful Laws, for the Honour, as well as for the Profit of the Kingdom, which are in our whole Statute Books.

The First Instance I shall give, of that villainous, as well as scandalous violation of our Laws, is, that whereas it is provided for by a positive and expresse Statute, that all the *Fire-Arms*, which Her Majesties Troops either here, or any where else, who are employ'd to bear Arms and to Serve, are to use, shall be made and fabrick'd by our *English Workmen*, Artificers, or *Gunsmiths*, and that none of Her Majesties Troops shall be supplied and furnished with, or allowed to use any other. Yet some pretending to be of a Party, which I do forbear naming, because the wisest and worthiest of the said Party, do account such as those to be a Reproach and Ignominy thereunto, have in the defiance of the said Law and Statute, as well as to the dishonour and prejudice of their Countrey, dared to buy in *Holland*, to the value of *Thirty Thousand Pounds* worth of that kind, for the furnishing and arming those Forces, which are Her Majesties Natural Subjects. While in the mean time, they were owing and indebted to our *Gunsmiths* here a *Sum* nearly approaching thereunto, if not fully equalling it. Whereby our English Manufacturers of Arms, who had given that Credit, were by their being left unpaid so vast a *Sum* due to them, and thro' their being thereupon not only disabled from serving Her Majesty, in and by their Art and Employment, but were also rendered incapable by their Impoverishment arising from thence, of subsisting themselves and their necessitous distressed Families. And all this practiced and perpetrated by those, who erect themselves for Accusers and Arraigners of their very Sovereign, as well as for Defamers of their Fel-

low Subjects, if they can but find a Pretence of complaining either of the former, or of the latter, as to their having neglected the observing, or their having broken the meanest and most insignificant Laws. Yea in such a Case it will be well if they do rest in the upbraiding and calumniating of them, and have the Good Nature and Modesty to proceed no farther. Forasmuch as it is the Property of some People, as Tacitus saith, *Historian. lib. 1. Aliis increpare, nulla proprio crimine eorum, sed suum quisque flagitium aliis obiectantes*; which I do forbear to render into English. And were it not that I am unwilling without full and clear evidence to declare my opinion of the Motives, which may have influenced the Persons of whom I have been speaking, to the forementioned base Action towards the *Gunsmiths*, and that committed by a bold violation of a standing and known Law, I might from the Observations I have formerly had too much occasion to make of their Principles and Practices, assign what I am to say for having been the Inducement thereunto. Namely, that on their finding the *Gunsmiths*, while they were in a condition to subsist, too Loyal and Honest, to become their Implicit Votaries and Partisans, in whatsoever they should need and desire them so to be. They thereupon endeavoured by their reducing that Set of Men to starve, in case they continued refractory to their Will, to bring and force them to an entire resignation of themselves to their Pleasure in every thing. And as those Persons from the Constitution of the Ministry at that time, did not doubt of obtaining the Connivance, if not the Approbation of the Government in what they did against the *Gunsmiths*; so they could not from thence but be full of Hope of diverting the Resentment and Revenge of the said *Gunsmiths* from themselves, and of their being also able to

apply them, against the Queen and the Throne, whensoever they should think it seasonable to have the word and call given for the doing thereof. Which ought to cause all such who are faithful and courageous Ministers of State, to be both extremely watchful against those being rendred desperate, who are (as the *Gunsmiths*) a brave sort of Men; and also to exert their utmost Fortitude in the rebuking and preventing thereof. Having to that purpose always in their remembrance, what *Tacitus*, *Annal. lib. 13.* observeth, brave Fellows will be ready to say, and as he there maketh one to do, *Deesse nobis terra in qua vivamus, in qua moriamur non parest*: i. e. *The sea may not be allowed a Place, wherein we may comfortably live, yet we can never miss the finding a Spot of Ground, on which we may bravely die.*

But there remaineth still another Instance to be pointed forth, and briefly Spoken unto, relating to some Peoples daring to violate a certain Law, which of all the *Municipal Statutes*, hitherto Enacted, is most subservient to the honour of the Throne, the encouragement and encrease of our Navigation, and the Wealth and Opulency of the Kingdom. Namely that not long after the happy Restoration of *King Ch. 2d.* before that many avowed either Fanaticks or Whigs came to be admitted into the Ministry, or any considerable number of them had attained to the being Members of the House of Commons, there was a Law then made and Enacted, for the prohibiting the Importation, as well as the Exportation, save in English Ships and Vessels, and in which also the greatest part of the *Sailors* should be Subjects of the Kings and Queens of these Realms, any Goods or Merchandise belonging to English Subjects, and especially any productions, whether Natural or Artificial, arising from, or which were Manufactured and Fabrick'd in any Dominions, Islands or Territories Sub-
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joſt unto, and depending on the Crowns of *Great Britain*, yea and ſhould extend to whatſoever Commodities elſe ſhould be brought hither from any parts of the World whatſoever. Yet this very *Law*, which deſerveth the being greatly commended and eſteemed, as well as the being punctually and ſtrictly kept, and obſerved, by ſuch who are either honeſt and true *Engliſh Men*, or who are Faithful and Loyal Subjects to Her Maſteſty, hath been of late, and for any thing I know to the contrary, ſtill is, in divers branches thereof daringly and inſolently, broken and violated. In relation to one whereof, the Facts by which, it is not only deſpiſed, but trampled upon, being in themſelves ſo baſe and ignominious, and not only more prejudicial to our Navigation in general, and to upright Traders of all ſorts, but alſo more invasive upon, and inſulting over the Rights of the Crown, than I dare pretend the being Maſter enough of Words, ſufficiently to Brand and Stigmatiſe according to the villanous demerits of them, that I muſt therefore be contented with the ſaying little more in reference thereunto, than barely to name them. Which Facts in brief are, that ſome Men of a Party which I do forbear to mention, have preſumptuouſly dated to *Export* from hence in *Forreign Veffels* thoſe Goods and Commodities of all kinds, which our *Engliſh Merchants*, Traffickers, and even our Publick Companies had brought hither in *Engliſh Bottoms*, from the ſeveral places forementioned, and that alſo under all the other Regulations of the aforeſaid *Law*. And the Perſons of whom I have been ſpeaking, inſtead of their violating the forementioned *Law* ſurreptitiouſly and by ſtealth, they not only perpetrated the forementioned Facts avowedly and boldly, but they had the Impudence to claim and demand the *Drow Backs*, and ſuch other accruements of Profit, as the Government accord-

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ing to Law doth allow unto those, who shall Export Goods from hence into alien Nations and Ports, which having been first Imported hither in the manner aforesaid, the Custom's imposed upon, and made due for them by Law, had been actually paid or Security given and accepted for the doing thereof. And tho' I neither dare, nor will, presume to suggest how such Malefactors, and open avowed Violators of such an useful, important and necessary a Law, deserve to be chastised, yet I hope it will give no offence, either to those who are Members of Parliament, or to any others who are Lovers of the Crown, and concerned for the Welfare of their Country, and of their Fellow Subjects, that I do venture with humility and submission to say, that the obliging and compelling those subverters, as well as transgressors, of the aforesaid Law, to *Refund* at the least their *Draw-Backs* into the *Exchequer*, will be but a mild and gentle Animadversion upon them. All that I will add further in reference thereunto is, that as it is indispensably needful to have an effectual stop given to such bold Violations of the said Law for the future; so it will be the better to have it done, while there are so few offenders of that kind, and they neither of such Power or Interest, as to give apprehension to the Government of dreading what *Tacitus, Annal. lib. 12.* saith, *Ne sublata spe veniæ, pertinacia accenderetur, lest on their being denied a Pardon for, and an Indulgence therein, they should grow the bolder in the proceeding to perpetrate the like Facts.* For God be thanked they who are become Criminal, and have made themselves Guilty in the aforesaid way, are upon all accounts such, against whom, as the same *Tacitus, Annal. lib. 3.* hath the expression, *Nec utendum imperio ubi legibus agi possit:* there will be no need of making use of Force, seeing the

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applying the *Laws* against them, will be sufficiently effectually.

Now my speaking of this 4th Qualification Requisite in a *Minister of State*, having not only encreased to a greater length than I had intended, but even swelled this 2d. Part beyond its due Proportion, I shall therefore put an End here to the one as well as the other; and shall adjourn unto, and refer for a 3d. Part, the Discourſing of, and concerning the further and remaining Qualifications, which are Requisite in a Person of that Character.

FINIS.

There being through the Omission of the Author in the Copy, and by the Illegibility thereof, several Errata to be found in the 1st Part; they are here Marked, in order to the being Corrected.

In the Preface to the Dedication, before Honourable r. Right.
 P. 1. L. 1. for to r. in. Ibid. l. 10. dele to. P. 2. l. 34. r.
 Lige. P. 4. l. 19. r. whoſoever. P. 14. l. 25. dele coming over and.
 P. 27. l. 9. r. either. Ibid. l. 10. r. or. P. 30. l. 32. r. Diſpo-
 ſing. P. 32. l. 21. r. Incantum. P. 35. l. 5. and l. 11. r.
 Vitellius. P. 40. l. 7. r. uſurum. P. 40. l. 22. dele as. P. 41.
 l. 7. dele as. P. 44. l. 4. for his r. their. P. 45. l. 14 for
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